

“THE MIGHTY DEFENSIVE FORT”: RED FORT AT DELHI UNDER SHAHJAHAN – ITS PLAN AND STRUCTURES AS DESCRIBED BY MUHAMMAD WARIS

Syed Ali Nadeem Rezavi

Red Fort and its monuments are today but a poor guide to the actual building project undertaken by Shahjahan at Delhi between 1639 and 1648. Much stands transformed with the large scale vandalism of the colonial period, when, after the Great Indian War of Independence, the victors decided to pull down major parts of the fort from within and replaced them with their utilitarian military constructions. Even before that, the basic built fabric of Shahjahan's vision was disturbed by the inclusions of structures built or modified under the later Mughals like Akbar II and Bahadur Shah II. Today we only know of those buildings and structures which have survived the ravages of time¹. Except for a garden and a few isolated riverfront pavilions within the red sandstone fortifications nothing else survives or seems to suggest the claim made on one of the surface inscription in the fort:

*Agar firdaus bar rū-i zamīn ast
Hamīn ast wa hamīn ast wa hamīn ast!*

“If there is Paradise on Earth
It is here, It is here, It is here!”²

An answer to the basic fabric of the Red Fort of Delhi may be possible by shifting our attention to the unravelling of the information contained in the primary sources of the period.

The study of Delhi Fort has received due attention at the hands of modern scholars. There are a number of works which are descriptive in nature and catalogue the various monuments within the city of Delhi.³ Others describe in detail the monuments within the fort or deal with its architectural history.⁴ Most of these works describe the extant structures of the fort and their architecture. Seldom do they try to distinguish the structures which were there since the period of Shahjahan from those which were ordered to be added later; they also fail to describe them as they might have appeared at the time when they were conceived. Amongst all the modern works, it is only that of Anisha S. Mukherji which tries to grapple with the fact of ‘transformation’ of the Imperial fort through its later additions and demolitions. She tries to make a detailed and meaningful study of the spatial and geometrical positions and dimensions of the buildings in the fort in order to reconstruct the original functional (Public and Private) areas. However she fails to engage with the information available in the primary sources on the Delhi fort and its monuments.⁵

In spite of its non-use, there is much information on the Fort of Shahjahanabad and its buildings which can be gleaned from the contemporary sources of Shahjahan's period. This information is however generally ignored by most of the above mentioned works. Amongst these contemporary Persian sources, the most accessible and most known is the *Bādshāhnāma* of ‘Abdul Hamid Lahori, which is the account of the first two decades of Shahjahan's reign. As the Shahjahanabad Fort was actually completed in the last decade of Shahjahan's reign, Lahori is unable to give us a detailed account of the same.⁶ Lahori, while ending his account of Shahjahan in his 20th Regnal year and providing the details of the empire over which his emperor presided, just mentions that the new capital city with its grand fort on the banks of the river Yamuna, known as Shahjahanabad was founded in the 21st RY of the august reign and it contained ‘many sky touching lofty buildings’ which he would describe in his subsequent third volume.⁷

The details of the construction, along with a comprehensive account of the individual structures within it is given by Muhammad Waris, who was appointed by the emperor to take up

the account of his reign from the point where Lahori had stopped due to his death.⁸ His account is generally taken to be the volume III of Lahori's *Bâdshâhnâma*. Unfortunately the *Bâdshâhnâma* of Waris still remains unpublished, and so, rather inaccessible to the scholars at large.

The second primary Persian source which to some extent contains similar information is the '*Amal-i Sâlih*, also known as *Shâhjahân Nâma*, written by Muhammad Salih Kanboh, who bases his account very closely on the information contained in Lahori and Waris.⁹ But then, he also misses out on the details which can be gleaned from the account of Waris. To give an example, Salih leaves out all the dimensions of the buildings and gardens recorded by Waris. An abridgement of the information contained in the *Bâdshâhnâmas* is provided to us by Inayat Khan, a noble of Shahjahan's court, in his *Shâhjahân Nâma*, which was presumably originally known as *Mulakhkhas*.¹⁰

Apart from these Persian sources, the European Travel accounts, like those of Francois Bernier and Tavernier, who visited the Mughal court during the reigns of Shahjahan and Aurangzeb also add much to our knowledge.¹¹

Here we attempt to provide a translation of the relevant passages from the *Bâdshâhnâma* of Muhammad Waris¹² which may help us in unravelling the actual building plan of the Fort of Shahjahan at Delhi.

It is interesting to note that Waris calls this fort as *ha'in gardûn*, a 'mighty defensive fort' whose ramparts were built of red sandstone mined from the stone quarries of Fathpur Sikri. It comprised of six gateways and twenty one bastions, of which some were circular, others octagonal. Within it most of the palatial complexes were arranged towards the east overlooking the river. The area towards the west and south was reserved for 'public' buildings and gardens. There were at least two markets, a *bâzâr-i musaqqaf* (covered market) with a *chahârsûq* and the *bâzâr-i sar bâz* (an uncovered market), the first still survives, while the second has entirely disappeared.

There is also much information on the architectural elements of this period. For example Muhammad Waris includes information regarding the preferred type of pillars and arches – the eight-sided pillars (*hasht pahl*) with cappings (*kulâh*) and the multi-foliated arches (*marghulidâr*). He also mentions the beautiful shallow tanks 'cut in folds' (*tahnuma*). Also elaborated are the preferred modes of surface decoration: the *parchînkari* (peitra dura), *âinakârî* (mirror work) and the use of a white plaster derived from a stone quarried from Gujarat. Waris probably is the only source which tells us about the *sang-i nihâli* which 'was mined particularly in Suba Gujarat, and its plaster (*qala'i*)' which was used to bring about this whiteness. Most modern works today talk about the use of 'shell-plaster' which was used to bring about pristine whiteness to the Shahjahani structures. Waris tells us that under Shahjahan this particular stone and its plaster, which was a 'speciality of Gujarat' was ordered to be brought in large quantities and that its use 'had become a fashion and a preferred medium' for constructing buildings. The dados (*izâra*) of buildings with the use of this stone and its plaster 'converted into reflectors of countenance (*chehra numa*)'. Also mentioned are *khaskhâna* (rooms covered with screens of *khas*, *andropogon muricatus*, which when wet, keeps them cool and fragrant during summers), *hauzhâna* (pool house) and the *tanbikhâna* (summer houses) which were best suited for the hot climate of Delhi.

It is also interesting to note, that compared with the works dealing with constructional activity under Akbar, Waris uses a different terminology for the imperial buildings. Thus if we have *khilwatkada* and *khilwatkada-i khâs* under Akbar for imperial quarters, under Shahjahan it is *ârâmgâh*, *ârâmgâh-i aqdas*, *ârâmgâh-i muqaddas* and *mahal-i aqdas*. Similarly, if under Akbar the harem was known as *Shabistân-i iqbâl* and *haramsara*, now it was known as either simply as *yurat* (encampment) or *mashku-i mu'alla*¹³ (female quarters).

Translation of
Muhammad Waris, *Bâdshâhnâma*,
[Ms., BL, Or. 1675, London,
(Transcript Department of History Seminar Library, Aligarh), pp. 38-56]

[38] On 22nd [Rabi I, 1058 / 16 April 1648] Khalilullah Khan came from Mewat and paid obeisance to the emperor. The construction of the Fort of Shahjahanabad and its sky-kissing buildings in the capital city of Delhi founded on the banks of river Jun [Yamuna] were completed. The King graced it with his august presence.

It was as per the Imperial orders that a place on the banks of River Jun [henceforth Yamuna] had been chosen to raise a lofty mansion which would be the capital city of the August Empire. Thus on a plot of land on the river bank a mighty fort was ordered to be raised along with beautiful mansions (*dilkash manâzil*) through which also a stream meanders. Many of its residential structures (*nasheman*) are constructed besides the said river. The foundations of these structures were also laid along with those of the fort.

The founding of these structures took place after much thought and deliberation, at a vacant spot situated between the capital city of Delhi and in front of (the fortress) Nurgarh on the river bank.

On the orders of His Majesty, on Friday night after five hours (*sa'at*), on 25 *Zil hijja*, 9 *Urdi Bihisht*, 12th RY, 1048 AH [29 April 1639] the foundations of the fort were marked. The architects were Ustâd Ahmad and Ustâd Hâmid, who were perfect in the science of construction and architecture. The work (was) done under the supervision (*sarkâri*) of Ghairat Khan, the brother's son of 'Abdullah Khan Firuzjung, the *subedar* of Delhi. Six structures were commenced under his supervision, as per the plans approved by the emperor.// [39]

The foundations of the fort were laid by expert diggers (*beldârs*) after 5 astrological hours (*sâ'at*) and 12 minutes (*daqîqa*) on the night of Friday, 9th Muharram, 23 *Urdi Bihisht* [12 May 1639]. From all over the empire, expert artisans and craftsmen, *sangtarâsh* (stone cutters), including *sâdahkâr*, *parchinkâr*, and *mambatkâr* (i.e., simple stone masons, inlayers and embossers) and masons (*me'mâr*) and carpenters (*najjâr*) were called and occupied themselves in the work of construction.

During the reign of Sultan Firuz Khalji, a canal had been dug from river Jun [Yamuna] from near *pargana* Khizrabad and was brought to a distance of 30 *kuroh* to *pargana* Safidon near the *Shikârgâh* (hunting grounds) where previously there had been a scarcity of water. After the demise of the Sultan, the canal having fallen on bad times and due to public neglect, dried up and clogged up. During the reign of *Arsh Ashiyani* (Akbar), Shihabuddin Ahmad Khan, the *subadar* of Delhi repaired the said canal and once again made it functional to facilitate irrigation of the agricultural lands of the area around it. The canal now came to be known as 'Shihâb Nahr' after his name. After his tenure ended, it again fell into disuse and reverted back to its original (clogged) condition. When His Majesty [Shahjahan] directed his attention towards the construction of the fort and the *daulatkhâna* (palaces) within it, necessary orders were issued that from Khizrabad to Safidon, which was the original route of the canal, it be repaired and on both its sides, embankments be raised and everything else be done to facilitate an un-interrupted flow from Safidon to the Fort under construction – a distance of 30 Imperial *kuroh*.

On 11 *Jumadi* I of the said year (1048 / 8 September 1639), that is, 4 months 2 days from its date of commencement, Ghairat Khan was transferred to the post of *subadar* Thatta and the work of supervision of the construction of the fort, its palaces and the canal, along with the *subadari* of Delhi was transferred to Ilahvardi Khan. The latter performed his duties till 21 *Jumadi* II, the 15th RY, that is, a period of 2 years one month and 11 days. During his tenure under his supervision, the foundation (walls) of the Fort towards the river, were raised to 2 *gaz*. When he was transferred, the charge of the *suba*, as well as the responsibility of construction of the Buildings, and the completion of the Fort was [40] handed over to Makramat Khan, who held

the post of *mir-i sâmân*. He after much endeavour and hard work, in 20th RY, sent the message to Kabul where His Majesty was then stationed, and petitioned that the lofty edifice (*imârat-i âsmân rif'at*), the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs wa Âm*, the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs*, the *Ârâmgâh*, the auspicious palace (*mahal-i 'aqdas*), the *hammâm*, the garden on the side of the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs* and some other structures have been completed. The Emperor may grace these structures with his presence. According to the calculations of the Astrologers, the auspicious hour for the emperor to enter the palaces fell in this and the coming year. The imperial astrologers, after much deliberations and critical application of their knowledge, ultimately fixed Saturday, the 24th Rabi I, 3rd *Farwardîn* of this year, that is 1058 AH [18 April 1648]. The designated hour which was 16 and a half *ghari*, as calculated by the astrologers, was communicated to the Emperor. The appointed time was wide enough for the Emperor to leave Kabul and reach the capital city of Delhi.

When the auspicious hour neared, His Majesty left Kabul and reached the capital city (Delhi). And thus the hidden became apparent to the intelligent. It is difficult to narrate the grandness and beauty of this Mighty Fort, its palaces, bastions and heaven-reaching arches....

...There can be no other such strong Fort on the face of this universe – probably there is no such fort underneath the sky which glitters such as the sun and the moon in the firmament. Its structures are beyond imagination [41]. Its every corner is dazzling and every direction full of heavenly gardens. It is in the form of heavens.

Verse: 'What should I say about the design of this building? That the tongue gets tied by its very vision? The qualities of these buildings are so high that none can elaborate on them! In them the crafts are such that even the craftsmen are themselves over-awed. The builders of the present age have embellished this edifice in such a way that its design is envy for all!'

...[then follows a whole paragraph of hyperbolic praise for the buildings in the fort and their uniqueness as compared to others]...

This Mighty fort is in the form of an irregular octagon (*Musamman-i Baghdâdi*). Its length is 1000 imperial *gaz* and the breadth is 600; its ramparts are made of red stones from Fathpur. The height of the battlements from the base of the wall is 25 *dîra*' (yards, cubits); their foundations are 15 *dîra*' deep and breadth 15 and height above the ground 10 (*dîra*'). The fortified land is 6 lakh *dîra*', that is double that of the Fort of Akbarâbâd.

The eastern district of the fort, which lies adjacent to the river Yamuna, the height from the waterfront to the plinth of the structures is 12 *dîra*' [42] and all the buildings of the *Daulatkhâna* from the building of the northern *burj* (bastion) and the building of the *Bagh-i Ruh Parwar* and *Ruh Afza* (the pavilions 'Sawan' and 'Bhadon'), entitled *Hayât Bakhsh*, the *Hammâm-i Athhar*, and the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs* entitled Shah Mahal and the *Ârâmgâh-i Muqaddas*, and the *burj* which is known as *Burj-i tila*, the *mahal-i kalân* (the Big palace) known as *Imtiyâz Bakhsh*, and the building assigned to be the *Khawâbgah* (or *Khûbgah* ?)-*i Aqdas*, from here to *Nawwâb Falak Janâb Begum Sâhib* [Jahanara Begum] and other buildings related to this lady of the age (*mâlîka-i daurân*) and (to) the *burj-i Qarîna* and Northern Burj are all arranged symmetrically in the direction (in such a fashion) that towards eastern side is the river and *sahra* (vacant land?). Towards the west are the orchards and the pleasure giving gardens, reservoirs. The beautiful and well-known *Nahr-i Bihisht*, which is 4 *dîra*' wide, flows from the north and passing through the above mentioned buildings flows towards the south.

This mighty defensive fort (*ha'in gardûn*) whose value is recognized up till the seventh heaven, comprises 21 *burj* (bastions), 7 circular (*madaur*) and 14 octagonal. It also has 6 gateways. Out of these six, two are grand gatehouses with their arches having a square zone in between (*ba nitâq-i chuza piwasta*). One such gateway is towards the capital city (*mustaqarrul khilâfat*) Akbarâbâd and another towards *dârus saltanat* Lahore. Two doors which are towards the river are of lesser size and dimension. One of these is outside the *daulatkhâna-i mualla* (the imperial residence) and is meant for the use and passage of the grandees (*mardum-i kalântar*). The other is placed within the Shah Mahal and is for the use of His Majesty to reach the river front and board the imperial boats. Another gate, which is smaller than this, is towards the river which

flows to the west of the Nurgarh and this mighty fort. The sixth gate is towards *Bist* (?) in between the Nurgarh and this mighty sky reaching fort.

The river touches the walls and ramparts of the eastern zone, (while) a ditch 25 *gaz* broad and 10 *gaz* deep has been excavated on the other sides. The water from the *Nahr-i Bihisht* fills it up and from two sides the river Yamuna also creeps in.

From the Gate towards the capital city to the front of the *Jilaukhâna -i diwânkhana-i khâs wa âm* is a covered bazar (*musaqqaḥ bazâr*) which holds within itself (*watiqa*) a wide octagonal *chahârsuq* an example of which is not to be found anywhere. Neither has anyone heard about such a market anywhere in the whole of the heaven-like country of Hindustan. Although such markets do exist in countries like Iran yet they come nowhere near this in their embellishments and design. And between the Gate towards the *mustaqarrul khilâfa* (Agra) till the *darwâza* of the *jilaukhâna-i daulatkhâna-i khâs wa âm* (forecourt of the Public Audience) is a large *bazâr* which is 40 *gaz* wide and in its middle flows a canal (*nahr*) [43]. Towards this end are also the Imperial Horse Stables (*tavila-i aspân-i khâsa*) which my tongue stops to describe when I have not been able to satisfactorily describe the imperial palaces themselves!

The Shah Burj with gracious building, which during the summers is provided with *khas khâna* on all its eight sides, has a diameter of 16 *dîra'* and is excellently constructed in three storeys. The first storey is at an elevation and it is 10 *gaz* in its stature. Its ceiling from within is vaulted (domed) but even (i.e. flat) from without. From top to bottom this structure is built of white marble while its walls are decorated with imaginative and colourful incised decorations (*parchîn*, that is, pietra dura work). More than this the glittering pure white surfaces (in this structure) are achieved through the use of *sang-i nihâli* (*sang-i bahtoli*?). The entire pavilion and its vault are planned pleasingly and overlaid (that is, covered) with gold (decorations). The mentioned stone is mined particularly in *Suba* Gujarat, and its plaster (*qala'î*) provides much softness and whiteness to the surface on which it is applied. It serves to enhance brightness and bestow mirror-like quality. Previously it was just a speciality of Gujarat, but now, during the regime of His Majesty, when there is a daily market for mirth and happiness, by imperial orders, the stone and its plaster are ordered to be brought here in large quantities. Its use has become a fashion and a preferred medium: most of the Imperial buildings are (either) of white marble and provided with mirror work (*âina kârî*) decorations, (while all the) other buildings are embellished with such plastering of the *sang-i nihâli*.

This area (of the first storey of the Shah Burj) comprises a *Musamman khâna* (Octagonal House) with a span of 8 *gaz*, a *Chahârtâq* (a building of four intersecting arches) and two *nasheman* (mansions?) in the form of half-octagon, towards the river. In their front are latticed windows of white marble which are really very pleasing to the eye. Each of these arched structures from east to north that is towards the river is 4 *dîra'*. The length of each from west and south is 4 *gaz*, while the breadth is 3 (*gaz*).

In the middle of the *Musamman*, (i.e., Octagonal House) is a water tank (*hauz*) having a diameter of 3 *dîra'*. The western vault (i.e., of the mansion) comprises an *âbshâr* (waterfall) whose *châdar* (cascade) is 1 ½ *dîra'* broad and 15 *tuyuj* (?). Below this waterfall are arched niches in which are pasted golden (*tila*) vases with gold flowers. In front is a tank (*hauz*) constructed of white marble, 3 ½ *dîra'* long and 2 ½ *dîra'* wide. From this *hauz* and going towards the other vault is a marble laid 1 ½ *gaz* wide channel. The tanks, the channel, as well as the vaults, niches and arches are all incised with colour stones like agate, carnelian, pearls and other semi-precious stones. This is such a place that it (appears to be) fragrant with the heavenly perfumes and embroidered with myriads of floral carvings which draw envy year after year. [44] The water of the *Nahr-i Bihisht*, after passing through the *âbshâr* falls into this tank of the Western Vault. From here the channel joins the *Nahr-i Burj* and meanders its way to the Octagonal Tank (*hauz-i musamman*) and then from there emerges towards the Eastern Vault. Below it is the *âbshâr-i châdari* (water chute) which cascades towards the river. It very much enhances the pleasure of those who are fortunate to sight it.

The second storey of this building (Shah Burj) is a firm and durable structure having a diameter of 8 *dira'*. In front is a large *Aiwân* (portico) resting on 84 pillars.

On the third storey of this structure is a pavilion (*nasheman*) which is having a domed roof. It is raised on eight-sided pillars (*hasht pahl*) with cappings (*kulâh*) of white marble and displays a *kalasha* (pinnacle) of gold which is *du sâkhta* (?).

The *Hayât Bakhsh* Garden, which is situated nearby, is a model of a Garden of Paradise. It is 250 *gaz* in its dimensions, out of which 225 *gaz* are full of multiples of varieties of Heavenly flowers (*gul-i riyâhin*). In its middle is a tank like the *hauz-i kauthar* (the heavenly tank mentioned in the Quran). It is 8 *gaz* and on its purity, the worldly tanks would hide in humility! Its ornamentation and dazzle dims even the brightness of the sun. In the middle of this tank are 49 fountains from which the water spurts out as if from water-laden clouds in the sky!

On the margins of this tank are another 112 fountains. The four lanes of the garden (*chahâr khiyâbân-i bâgh*) are 20 *gaz* broad. The floors of these walkways are made of red stone and in their middle is the 6 *gaz* wide water channel. In each of these four water channels are three rows of fountains which are embellished with gold and silver plating, and thus appear very enchanting.

Two similar looking structures are constructed in the middle of southern and northern sides of this garden. They are of white marble with their railings covered with *parchînkâri* (pietra dura). The top of these railings are decorated with beautiful and varied carvings. Each of these two structures contains 16 pillars every one of which is profusely carved from top to bottom.

In this area are two *aiwân* (porticos), the Eastern and Western, two *bangla* (a structure with a reclining roof), one in the front, the other at the back, and a pavilion (*nasheman*) raised on 4 pillars situated, situated between the *bangla* structures and the porticos. The whole setting is beautiful and spirit-elevating. On the top of each (building?) on the four sides, are four *chaukhandis* of white marble with golden *kalashas*.

In the middle of the pavilion (*nasheman*) of the building in the south, is a tank (*hauz*) which is square just like the *chashma-i haiwân* (?) made of white Qandhari marble. The length of each side is 2 *gaz* and breadth 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ *gaz*. At the back of the *bangla* is an *âbshâr* whose *châdar* is of white marble, 2 *gaz* wide and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* in height. Below the *âbshâr* on the surface of the walls are [45] niches (*tâq*) cut out of the same stone, on which again, *parchînkâri* (pietra dura) has been done. In the daytime, daily, flowers of gold put up in gold vases, and every night camphor candles put in gold and silver candle stands (*âbrezi*) decorate these niches. In front of this chute is a tank, again of stone 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* long and 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *gaz* in breadth. From this tank to the adjacent building in the north, is a channel 2 *gaz* broad. This channel circumambulates the tank within the said pavilion. Here its breadth is reduced by half a *gaz*.

A water channel connecting the *Nahr-i Bihisht* with the *âbshâr* also falls in this tank. This stream after encircling the tank goes on to join the one coming out of the northern tank. Then from there it proceeds with a width of 3 *gaz* and an elevation of 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* before turning into a cascade (*âbshâr-i châdari*) to meet the stream flowing in the middle of the garden. Here it is 6 *gaz* wide.

Both the tanks mentioned above are life-enhancing, especially so the tank of the portico which is profusely overlaid with semi-precious stone in *parchînkâri*. It is done in such a way that this decoration makes it appear a garden path full of dense vegetation with each leaf of this flower-garden (*gulzâr*) providing sustenance and each branch of tree in full bloom.

In the middle of the pavilion of the building of the northern part, is a *hauz khâna* (pool house) of white marble which is 4 *gaz* 15 *tuyuj* (?) in its dimensions and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* deep. It is extremely clean and contains 4 cascades (*âbshâr-i châdari*) for the water from the *Nahr-i Bihisht*. Each of them is 4 *gaz* broad. Below each are small niches (*tâq*) which are in of the same type as those in the building on the southern side.

The water from this tank after flowing below the surface of this structure, then goes on to join the channel (*nahr*) which flows by the walkways (*khiyâbân*) of the garden. The surface of

this pool house and the arches of the niches are incised and filled with (*parchîn*) coloured stones in most beautiful patterns.

Apart from this, the water bubbles forth from another *âbshâr* which is in front of the arch (*chashma*) of the building. It is 3 *gaz* broad while the cascade (*châdar*) is 1 ½ *gaz* in its fall. From here the water falls into the *nahr-i khiyabân-i bâgh* (the channel which flows by the walkways of the garden). The entire garden towards the east is adjacent to the river. Its expanse (breadth) is 26 *gaz*. From the court (*sahn*) of the garden to the podium of the building, which is made of red stone, it is 1 ½ *gaz*. Within the red stone building is another *Tanbi khâna* (open fronted summerhouse / parlour) which is 15 *gaz* in length and 8 in breadth. It comprises of two *shâhnashîn* (balconies / pavilions) whose status is as high as the heavens. In the middle is a tank 4 *gaz* in length [46] and 3 *gaz* wide from which water gushes out. At the posterior of each of these *shâhnashîn* is a structure (*khâna*) 8 *gaz* long and 5 *gaz* broad. Both these structures encompass of large porticos (*aiwân-i kaiwân*) which towards the east comprise of 5 arches facing the river and the garden towards the west. The length of each of them is 30 *dira'* as per the length of the building, while the breadth is 7 *dira'*. The stone railings of both the porticos, the dados (*izâra*), as well as the exterior walls of these two pavilions which are of white marble are exquisitely carved and decorated by expert craftsmen in such a fashion as to amaze one and all who visit them. The dados of these buildings have been whitened with (plaster of) *sang-i nihâli* (*sang-i bahtâlî?*) and converted into reflectors of countenance (*chehra numa*). And on the ceilings and walls of this heavenly building, expert painters and skilled carvers have painted a variety of designs resembling the pearl-like sun and the moon, heavenly flowers, colourful figures and patterns of varied kinds. Mani the heavenly carver and painter is shamed by these magnificent decorations.

The tanks (of this structure) are shallow and provided with folds (*tahnuma*) with their corners provided with Qandhari marble which are green in colour with red line which enhance their beauty. In their middle pieces of white marble of the heavenly country of India (*Hindustan bihisht nishân*) and other such stones imported from various provinces of the Empire have been used. In each of the fold (of these tanks) are holes through which the water spurts from the channel hidden 2 *dira'* below the white marble floor. Passing through the middle of this *aiwân*, the water sets off towards the garden and flies through the *âbshâr* like a spark. The cascade (*châdar*) of this chute is 2 *gaz*. From there it flows to the white marble tank full of peitra dura (*parchîn*) decoration within the mentioned *aiwân* and then proceeds to the channel along the walkways of the garden (*khiyabân-i nahr*).

The marble used in this building is a marvel which is mined at Makrana from where it is brought here. This stone is known for its grandness and whiteness. On the Imperial Orders, when the square tank (4 × 4 *gaz*) which is 1 ½ *gaz* deep was being excavated, the said stone was brought from Makrana. From there, the distance to *dârul khilâfat* Shahjahanbad is 200 *kuroh*. Having been brought from such distance, this stone had been used in this structure.

On the top four corners of this building are four *chaukhandis* (cupolas) which are like the *chaukhandis* of the northern and southern zones. Towards the south of the platform of the garden building is located a pleasant *bangla* made entirely of white marble. Its length is 15 *gaz* [47] and breadth 6, while its elevation is 2 *gaz*.

On both of its sides are two chambers which shield the said *bangla* (from view). They are provided with large-sized and beautiful pillars of white marble. From the back of the *bangla*, the water of the *Nahr-i Bihisht* emanates and sparkles down through an *âbshâr* which is 3 *dira'* broad and has a fall of 2 *dira'* into a tank constructed in its front.

From the middle of the *aiwân*, in front of the *bangla*, the water flows to join a stream which is 4 *dira'* wide. This stream is situated in a large courtyard laid with white marble. On its two sides are white marble structures. It contains 24 silver fountains and in its middle are two octagonal white marble tanks whose diameter is 2 *dira'*.

The second building is towards north, near the *hammâm* of the *bangla*. It is architecturally constructed in the same manner as the first. It is basically a red stone structure covered with the

plaster of *sang-i nihâli* (*sang-i bahtoli?*) which makes its surface reflect like a mirror.

Towards the river is a triple arched building which is constructed on a raised podium. It comprises of a garden overlaid with marble which has a length of 202 *dira'*. This building with its garden is an attraction for the whole world. Its pleasant arches, enchanting tanks, beautiful buildings and heavenly gardens are envy for the world.

[48] To the west of this heavenly garden is another garden, in the middle of which is a stone structure which is known as Lal Mahal. This palace is 16 *dira'* in length and is 10 *gaz* broad. The *Nahr-i Bihisht* which is 4 *dira'* wide at this point, enters the *khiyâbân* of this garden from the east and then passing through the middle of this palace, meanders its way towards the west. Let us now mention the style of this building: On the exterior of all the four sides are *aiwâns* which rest on 16 pillars. The *Nahr* flows across this structure. There are two *diwâns* fronting each other. Each of them comprise of 8 pillars. Towards the north of this is another garden which is 116 *dira'* by 30 *dira'*.

Apart from the above mentioned gardens, there is yet another garden which is 170 *gaz* long and 130 *gaz* wide. One of its buildings on the north adjoins the *Bâgh-i Hayât Bakhsh*. In this garden, there are many trees and grape vines, and that is why it is known as *Angûr Bâgh*.

Amongst the unique buildings of the age is counted the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs*, in the middle of which is the sacred Shah Mahal. Its length is 80 *gaz* and the breadth 26 *gaz*. This is one of the most singular mansions which due to its grandeur and beauty, is hard to describe.

From its foundations it is 34 *gaz* in length and 26 *gaz* in breadth. The whole building is made up of white marble. Its upper portion and its construction defy all imagination. The magical stone-cutters have shaped each of its arches in a special fashion which gives life to them. This structure has turned out to be envy for all. It stands on a 1 ½ *gaz* plinth and through it passes a stream of water which is 4 *dira'* wide, flowing north to south. This stream like the building through which it passes, is of white marble. This building also has a *Tanbi khâna* (summer house / parlour?) which is 15 *gaz* long and 10 *gaz* broad. On all its sides are three arches (*chashma-i tâq*) which rest on pillars (*pâyadâr*) and are multi-foliated (*marghulidâr*). They are in all 12 in number.

In the region of this building is another pillared *aiwân* which is 5 *gaz* broad. On every side of this *aiwân* are five multi-foliated arches. On the dados of this structure, agates and pearls and other semi-precious stones have been inserted as *parchîn* work (peitra dura).

This building is so marvellous and wonderful that it mesmerises all who come to see it. On the railings also beautiful designs and carvings are done. On the top of this railing is fixed bright dazzling stones *sang-i lâmi'* which may make the mirror of Alexander and Khurshid-i Khusrau jealous with envy! Roses, iris and lily flowers are traced along with fruit-bearing trees as well as beautiful calligraphic bands. The glitter of gold and silver in this building is such that it would dim the sparkle of Khurshid. [49] The total cost of the building came to 9 lakhs of rupees.

Within the vicinity of the *Daulatkhâna-i Khâs* is the Shah Mahal-i Muqaddas. Towards the eastern side which faces the river, is the podium (*kursi*) of the building. The railing is of white marble, which is also unique of the age. On all the four corners atop the building, are four *chaukhandis* (cupolas) as they are in the buildings of the *Bâgh-i Hayât Bakhsh*.

Verse: There is no eye in this age which had seen such stars
Neither have such kings existed in the memory of History!

On three sides, the courtyard of the Shah Mahal is 70 *gaz* × 60 *gaz*. Each of the *aiwân* (portico) in its breadth is 5 *dira'*, are built of red stone. On the north of the Shah Mahal is an *aiwân*. The *Nahr-i Bihisht* passes through it from the south. On its two angles (*dar sâr i ân*) are two chambers. Adjoining it is a Hot Bath (*garmâba*) which in its structure, shape and architecture, is delicate and full of beauty. The floor (*farsh*) of the *garm khâna* of this pleasure-house (*nuzhat kada*) and the boundaries of the *chabûtara* in its middle, and the water tank situated within the *shâhnashîn* (podium) are all built of white marble which has been used with great finesse and decorated with

parchîn designs with precious stones.

In the middle of the Cold Bath (*sard khâna*) is a square tank on whose four corners are fixed golden (*zarnâb*) fountains gushing water. A brook from the *Nahr-i Bihisht* measuring 1 *dira'* (in breadth) flows below the floor of this building. The floor, the tank, the channels and the dados, like in the *garm khâna*, are of white marble. All over, precious stones, using the new tracing skills, have been inserted. The dados of the Dressing Room (*rakht kan*) of this *Hammam* are also of white marble and agates and other colour stones have been fixed therein.

The surface towards the river side is filled with exquisite mirror work and Aleppo mirrors are fixed (*shîsha hâ-i halabi*): You may see through them the emerging rivers and valleys!

To the south of the Shah Mahal is an *aiwân* on which the expert carvers and painters have used their skill to make elegant, rare and wonderful designs. In this enchanting double tiered structure, and the area around it (*du sar-i aiwân wa du yurat*), square 5×5 *âina kâri* (mirror work) have been done. On its dados large mirrors (*marâyâri*) have been fixed in such a way that not a joint is apparent. The grandness of the building is obvious as it is the *khwâbgâh* of the emperor. It is entirely built of white marble. The plan (*tarah*) of the *Khwâbgâh-i muqaddas* is as follows: [50] in the middle is the *khâna-i tanbi* (summerhouse / parlour?) having a length of 11 *dira'* and the breadth 6, on the arches of which Sa'adullah Khan had as per imperial orders, inscribed an epitaph (*katâba*) which adorns it:

"God is pure! How beautiful are these painted mansions (*manzilhâst-i rangin*) and charming residences (*nashimanhast dîlnashin*). They are a part of the high heavens (*bihisht-i barin*). I may say the high-souled holy angels (*qusiyan-i himmat buland*) are desirous of looking at them; if the residents of different parts and directions of the world should come to walk round them, as [they walk] round the old house (*bayt al 'atîq*, i.e., the Ka'aba) it would be allowable (*rawâ ast*); or if the beholders of the two worlds (*nazârgiyân-i anfus wa âfâq*) should run to kiss their highly glorious their highly glorious threshold as [they kiss] the *hajar-i aswad* (the black stone of the Ka'aba), it would be proper. The commencement of this great Fort, which is higher than the palace of the heavens (*kâkh-i gardûn*) and is the envy of the wall of Alexander; and of this pleasant edifice; and of the Garden of Hayât Bakhsh, which is to these buildings as the soul to the body (*chun rûh dar badan*), and the lamp to an assembly (*shama' dar anjuman*); and of the pure canal, the limpid water of which is to the person possessing sight as a mirror showing the world, and to the wise, the unveiler (*pardah-kusha*) of the secret world (*'âlam-i ghaib*); and the water-cascades (*âbshâr-ha*), each of which you may say is the whiteness of the dawn, or a tablet containing secrets of the Table and Pen [of Fate]; and of the fountains, each of which is a hand of light (*panja-i nûr*) inclined to shake hands with the inhabitants of heavens, or is a string of bright pearls made to descend to reward the inhabitants of the earth; and of the tank (*hauz*), full to the brim of the water of life and in its purity the envy of light (*rash-i nûr*) and the spring of the sun, announced on the 12th *Zilhijja* in the 12th year of the holy ascension, corresponding to 1048 A.H. [16 April 1639 AD] the tidings of happiness to men. The completion of it, at the expense of fifty lakh of rupees, by the power of the auspicious feet of the sovereign of the earth, the lord of the world, the originator of these heavenly buildings, Shihabuddin Muhammad, the second lord of felicity, Shahjahan, the King, the champion of the faith, opened on the 24th *Rabiul Awwal* in the 21st blessed year of the accession, corresponding to 1058 AH [18 April 1648 AD], the door of grace to the world."

And around the two screened area (*du sar tanâbi*) are two encampments (*yurat*), each of which is 7 *dira'* long and 5 *dira'* broad. In front of these areas are the encampments / dwellings of females (i.e. female apartments), one of which is in the form of *aiwân* which is 23 *dira'* wide and $6 \frac{1}{4}$ *gaz* long. It is divided into two cordoned off areas in the form of two arches. Their purity and beauty is beyond imagination. One of these is towards the female quarters (*mashku-i mu'alla*) and the other is towards the northern *aiwân* and faces the Shah Mahal. In its front is fixed a white marble lattice-window which, each night, had to be seen to be admired. The water of the *Nahr-i Bihisht* passes from beneath it.

Adjacent to the eastern cordoned area (*yûrat-i sharqi*), towards the river is a bastion (*burj*), a golden octagonal tower, which the tongues of eloquent speech are unable to describe. It is a heavenly palace and entirely of white marble. Its walls and dados are embellished with varied designs with coloured stones and *parchîn* work. [51] Its *kalasha* and the capping (*kulâh*) are all of gold. The arches on its five sides which are towards the river have white marble lattice-windows (*pinjra-ha-i sang-i marmar*) on them. And the north of this *Jharokha* is used for the *jharokha darshan* by the emperor. In its purity and embellishments: *naqqâshi wa tila kâri* (paintings and gold work), no other building compare as this with the Shah Mahal.

The most monumental of the buildings of the *daulatkhâna-i wâla* is the palace which is famous by the name Imtiyaz Mahal. Its length is $57 \frac{1}{2}$ *dîra'* and breadth 26 *dîra'*. It comprises of one *aiwân* which is quite firm and durable. Its length based on five arches is $38 \frac{1}{2}$ *dîra'*, while the breadth is 26 *dîra'* and is based on 3 arches. Thus it has a total of 15 beautiful arches, each of which is multi-foliated. The dados are provided with a delicate (*tanak*) covering (*poshish* i.e., plaster) which just brushes (*mas*) the surface. On it is executed paintings (*naqqâshi*). All the pillars till the base of the cusps, are ashlayered (*mujalla ast*) with white marble. On the top till the ceiling, it is of red stone which has been whitened and refreshed with the (plaster of) *sang-i nihâli* (*sang-i bahtoli* ?). from the base till the top, the whole surface is covered with gold which has been used to decorate the surface in various ways.

And then there is the double tiered (*du sar*) portico (*aiwân*) of the *Tanbi khâna* (summer house / parlour?) whose length is 11 *dîra'* and breadth 6; and two chambers, each of which is 7 *dîra'* having a breadth of 5. The walls and dados of these summer houses, and the four chambers are of white marble. The spandrels of the arches are decorated with enchanting designs. The upper portions of the walls is plastered with *sang-i bahtoli* and then fixed with mirrors (*âina bandi*).

Between the middle arch of the *aiwân*, which is $7 \frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* square, is constructed a white marble tank which is provided with the most exquisite *parchin* work. In the middle of this tank is a cup (*kâsa*) which is multi-lateral in form. This cup is also of the same material and provided with delicate *parchin*.

The *Nahr-i Bihisht* after getting intoxicated [by the beauty and grandeur of the palace] comes out of the *aiwân-i ârâmgâh-i muqaddas* and meets the *nahr* which is in the northern court of this palace. After running a distance of 3 *gaz* inside this building before it empties itself into a tank. From there it proceeds south towards the throne (*sarâr*) and goes to the building which has been fixed as the *Ârâmgâh-i mu'alla*, and then passing through other buildings and meeting other brooks and branches of the *Nahr-i Bihisht*, it fills up the *kâsa* within the tank. From this tank another stream comes out, which again is of white marble, and meanders towards the *bâghicha* (small garden) of the Mahal. Its details are as follows:

It gets divided into two. Some of its water from the tank gets mixed with the water of the *nahr* and cascades down from the *châdar* of the *âbshâr* fronting the middle arch of the building. Its *irtifa'* (fall) is $1 \frac{1}{2}$ *gaz* and breadth 3 *gaz*. It falls (at this point), into a tank which is constructed below the *âbshâr*. In this *âbshâr*, as well as the stream, a variety of coloured stones have been fixed (*parchîn shud*). The arches and doors of this edifice, which is towards the river, is provided with *âina-i halabi*. The middle arches, which are of white marble, are *bangla* shaped. In its middle is an opening (*darîcha*) which is made of *sang-i pashm* (? Woolly stone). Such type of arches are also used in the female apartments situated towards the *bâghicha* where also the middle arches are in the form of *bangla*, and the surfaces are highlighted with *âina-i halabi*. On all the four corners of the structure, as in the case of buildings of Shah Mahal, are four *chaukhandis* of white marble.

The floor of the court, north to south of this building is of white marble and on the other three sides towards Imperial female apartments (*mushkvi*) it comprises of *aiwân*s and is 7 *dîra'* in its expanse. The *baghicha* of this building is 177 *dîra'* in length and 115 *dîra'* in breadth. In the middle of the garden is constructed a tank, which is 50 *dîra'* long and 7 *dîra'* wide. It has 25 fountains.

Towards the east and west of the tank is a channel of white marble in which 25 fountains are fitted. Apart from this, there is an enclosed garden (*bâgh-i mahjari*) built of *sang mar mar-i surkh* (fine red stone) and which is surmounted with (on its covered areas) 2000 golden domes.

Adjacent to the podium of the Imtiyaz Mahal are 4 *chaukhandis* which are constructed towards the *Khaskhâna* (Summer house cooled with fragrant grass): the first is to the west of the *ârâmgâh-i muqaddas*, the second adjoins the western walls (*hajarât*) of the Imtiyaz Mahal and is of white marble. The fourth¹⁴ is on the side of the building known as *ârâmgâh-i ashraf*. It is of red sand stone overlaid with plaster (*qala'i*) of white marble. It has been turned into a palace. The *kalashas* of the palace are all of gold.

On the west of the court of this building is a *Jharokha* of the *daulatkhâna-i khâs wa âm* (Public Audience). It is a grand structure and an excellent mansion made entirely with white marble. It is built like a *bangla* with a length of 4 *dira'* and a breadth of 3 *dira'*. It is raised on four pillars and on its rear is a *pishtâq* (portico / ante-room) which has an expanse (*darâzgi*) of 7 *dira'* and a depth of 2 ½ *dira'*. On both these official structures (*makân-i nizâmat*) different kinds of stones have been used to insert on its surface (*parchin*) and decorate it. Different kinds of designs having allegorical themes (*tamasîl*) have also been painted on them.

On the third side is a stone *jharokha* made fragrant with saffron and musk and an agreeable architectural design.

On the back of the *pishtâq* (portico / ante-room) is a house (*khâna*) which is 7 *gaz* long and 5 *gaz* broad, and by the use of *sang-i bahtali* has been rendered white. It is decorated with gold paintings.

On its front is an *aiwân* which is constructed in the *baghicha* of Imtiyaz Mahal. It is made of red stone which, with *sang-i bahtali* has been rendered white. Its plastered surfaces are overlaid with paintings.

In front of the *Jharokha-i aqdas*, on which the Imperial sun shines forever, is an *aiwân* which is very grand and lofty (*rafi' al bayân wa 'arsh makân*). It has a length of 67 *dira'* and a breadth of 24 [53] comprising 28 cusped arches resting on six pillars. From top to bottom it is constructed of red stone and rendered white with the plaster of *sang-i marmar*. On its crest golden alphabets (i.e., inscriptions) make it further bright. On its three sides are silver railings and it is crowned with golden domes. They further make the structure a chosen place.

This magnificent and heaven-like *aiwân* is situated on a podium (*chabûtara*) which is 104 *dira'* long and 60 *dira'* broad. In its vicinity is a stone railing (*mahjar*) of red stone which has been carved in a very pleasing fashion. On its top is fixed a golden dome. The court of this grand mansion is 204 *dira'* long and 160 *dira'* broad. Within it are *aiwâns* which are very agreeable, heart-pleasing and spirit elevating for the servants of the court who behold it.

On the west, north and south are stone gates of red stone having large spans. On the western gate is an inscription written in praise of its magnificence. Its reports reach up till the heavens. On its crown is the *Naqqâr Khâna*. The sounds emanating from it reach the ears of even those who reside in the heavens.

In front of this gate is the *chauk-i Jilaukhâna* (the market square of the Fore Court) which is 200 *gaz* long and 140 *gaz* wide. There are three streets emanating from this square. The western street passing through the *Bazâr-i Musaqqaf* (the Covered Bazar), reaches the Gate of the Fort towards the *dârus saltanat* Lahore (Lahori Darwaza). The northern street passes through the Imperial Stables (*astabal-i khâsa*) and then joins the gate which opens towards Nurgarh. The southern street joins the uncovered Bazar (*bâzâr-i sar bâz*) towards (the gate opening towards) *mustaqqar ul khilâfat* Akbarabad.

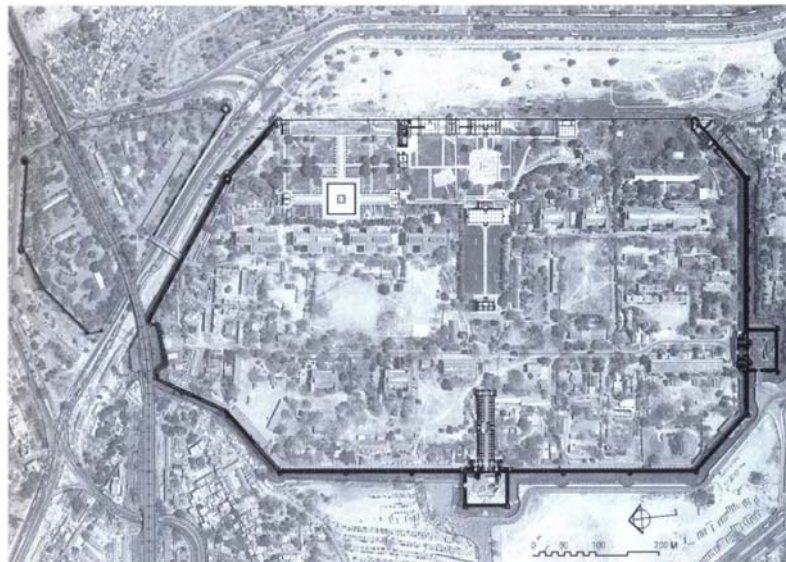
A water channel which is 4 *dira'* broad emanates from the *Nahr-i Bihisht* and flows through the open Stables (*astabal-i sar bâz*) and passing through the middle of the mentioned *chauk*, proceeds towards the south and falls into the ditch (*khandaq*) of the Fort.

At the beginning (of the street? / or of the side towards the Akbarabad Darwaza?) are other structures, one of which is the mansion of Nawwab Begum Sahib [Jahanara Begum]. This is an *aiwân* having five arches resting on pillars comprising a length of 33 *gaz*. It is 19 *gaz* broad and contains a total of 15 arches in all. On its rear is the *Tanbi Khâna* (summer house / parlour) which in its expanse is 18 *dira'* and breadth 8. On both its sides are two chambers, each measuring 8 *gaz* by 6 *gaz*. The dados of the entire structure are of marble, on top of which *sang-i bahtali* has been used to render the upper surfaces white and facilitate paintings. A white marble water channel flows through this structure and it is 3 *gaz* broad. In its middle is a tank which is also of marble. A stream forks from this tank and after reaching the front of the building, converts into a cascade (*âbshâr-i châdari*).

In the court of this Palace is a square *baghîcha*, measuring 67 *dira'*. An octagonal tank in the middle of this garden having a diameter of 25 *dira'*, comprises of 25 fountains. [54]

To the south of this building is a red stone *burj* (bastion / tower) built in the same fashion as the Shah Burj. The garden of the mansion of Begum Sahib is 82 *dira'* long and 60 *dira'* broad. In the centre of the eastern side of this garden is an *aiwân* constructed of red stone. It overlooks the river Jun [Yamuna]. There are other structures also which are occupied by other Ladies and members of the Imperial *haram*. This quarter is the area of *Khawâspura*, in the details of which I will not enter.

The total expenditure on these buildings was 60 lakhs rupees. On the Imperial mansions (*nasheman hâ-i khâsa*), 28 lakhs of rupees as per the detail: Shah Mahal, its ceilings and its dependencies, Rupees 14 lakh; *Imtiyaz Mahal*, the *Arâmgah* and its related structures, Rupees 5 lakhs 50 thousand; *Daulatkhâna-i khâs wa âm*, Rupees 2 lakhs 50 thousand; Hayât Bakhsh along with *Hammâm*, 6 lakhs; the Mansions of Begum Sahib and other Begums and members of the Mahal, 7 lakh; Other Buildings including *Bâzârs*, and *Chauks* which are inside the Fort, as well as the Imperial *kârkhânâs* (workshops), Rupees 40 lakh; The Fort with the ditch, Rupees 21 lakh. The marble for the fort was brought from a distance of 100 *kuroh*.....”



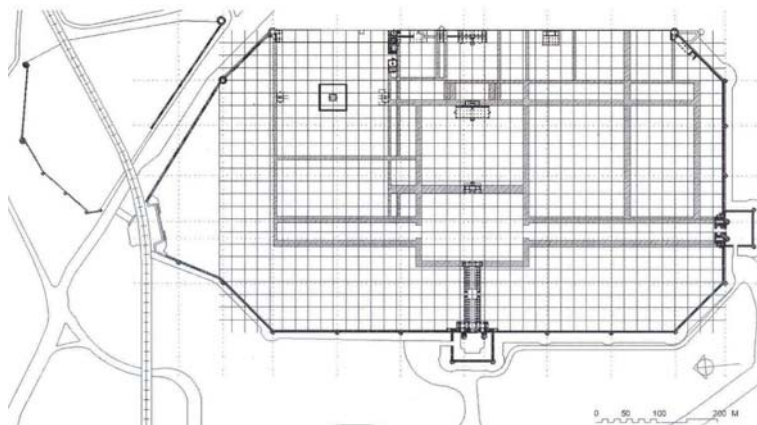
1. The Surviving Structures in the Fort of Shahjahanabad (© Anisha S. Mukherji)



2. Buildings on the Fort, c.1850's (Source: Sanderson, 1931-32)



3. Details from a Map of Shahjahanad c.1850 (X/1659; OIOC, BL London)



4. Different Zones in the Fort based on the Map of 1850 (©Anisha S. Mukherji)

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. See for example Syed Ahmad Khan, *Asâr us Sanâdîd*, (reprint ed.), New Delhi, 1956 (English tr., R. Nath, *Monuments of Delhi: Architectural and Historical*, New Delhi, 2010); Zafar Hasan, *Monuments of Delhi, Lasting Splendour of the Great Mughals and Others*, in 3 vols., Vol. I, New Delhi, 1997 (being a reprint of *List of Monuments of the Delhi Circle*, ed., J.A. Page, ASI, 1916); Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and Monumental Remains of Delhi*, reprint, Allahabad, 1967. For a general history of the Mughal Delhi, amongst others, see Stephen P. Blake, *Shahjahanabad, the Sovereign City in Mughal India, 1639-1739*, Delhi, 1993; Shama Mitra Chenoy, *Shahjahanabad: The City of Delhi 1639-1857*, New Delhi, 1998
2. See Zafar Hasan, *Monuments of Delhi*, op.cit, I, p. 19
3. See note 1 above
4. See for example Gordon Sanderson, *Delhi Fort: A Guide to its Buildings and Gardens*, ASI pubn., Calcutta, 1914; Louise Nicholson, *The Red Fort, Delhi*, London, 1989. For a study of architectural details see James Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, rev. & ed., John Burgess, London, 1910 (reprint, Delhi, 1994); Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture (Islamic Period)*, Bombay, 1964; Ebba Koch, *Mughal Architecture An Outline of Its History and Development (1525-1858)*, Munich, 1991 (reprint New Delhi, 2001); Catherine Asher, *Architecture of Mughal India*, New Delhi, 1995
5. Anisha Shekhar Mukherji, *The Red Fort of Shahjahanabad*, New Delhi, 2003
6. Abdul Hamid Lahori, *Bâdshâhnâma*, (in two volumes), ed. Maulana Kabir uddin Ahmad and Abdur Rahim, Bib. Ind., Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1868.
7. Lahori, *Bâdshâhnâma*, op.cit, II, p.710
8. Muhammad Waris, *Bâdshâhnâma*, Ms., BL, Or. 1675, London, (transcript Department of History Seminar Library, pp. 38-56; The task of compiling the *Bâdshâhnâma* had originally been assigned to Muhammad Amin Qazwini, who wrote the history of the first decade of Shahjahan's reign. His *Bâdshâhnâma* however appears to have been disapproved by the emperor who re-assigned the task to Lahori.
9. Muhammad Salih Kanboh, *Shâhjahân Nâma*, ed. G. Yazdani and Wahid Qureshi, Lahore, 1972, vol. III, pp. 18-40
10. Inayat Khan, *The Shahjahan Nama*, tr. A.R. Fuller, ed & completed by W.E. Begley and Z.A. Desai, Delhi, 1990, pp. 403-04, 406-09
11. Francois Bernier, *Travels in Mughal Empire, AD 1656 -68*, tr. A. Constable, New Delhi, 1996; Jean-Baptiste Tavernier, *Travels in India*, 2 vols., tr. V. Ball, ed. W. Crooke, London, 1925
12. Muhammad Waris, *Bâdshâhnâma*, Ms., BL. Or. 1675, London (Transcript in the Department of History Seminar Library, Aligarh), pp.38-56
13. Literally a palace built by Khusrau Parewz, the king of Persia, in which he lived with his consort Shîrîn. The term is used for female apartments of a palace.
14. The transcript jumps from second to fourth: Is it the case of 'copyist error'? Or is it a result of the missing text from the manuscript itself?